

[4.363]

APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1954-5

This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were 14 members, 7 adults and 7 children.

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound sterling approx.).

511

596

[233]

[182]

[207]

[436]

*Expenditure**Drachmas*

[651]

Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment

5,040

Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke

9,690

Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder

4,140

Salt for sheep in summer

400

Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.

5,200

150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.

2,550

15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair

2,250

Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls

1,500

Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14.54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse

5,234

Miscellaneous purchases from village shop

3,066

Total 39,070

* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock.

[474]

[162]

311 /162 cont./

233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
591 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

(454) If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
(436) "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

596 /163 cont./
494
554
594
554
[581]

not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.

Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
494 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

[861] The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.

* * *

596 The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
[561] respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points--further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

438 /191 cont./
439 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized
731 economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic), ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks. [62] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[55] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any
[43] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
414 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
516 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

192 cont./

436 participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the
437 other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with
438 the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).
439
440

436 Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the
437 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to
438 handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide
439 funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani
436 economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the
suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions
and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first
of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for
if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation
would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-
[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition.

[421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a
strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani
439 economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities
440 connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men
434 only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption"
the activity is confined to the women.

462 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule.
433 The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry;
562 they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the
raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the
tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing.
The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men.

462 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a pro-
432 ductive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes
433
562